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JULIAN H. STEWARD, *Editor*

Volume 1

THE MARGINAL TRIBES

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[title page]

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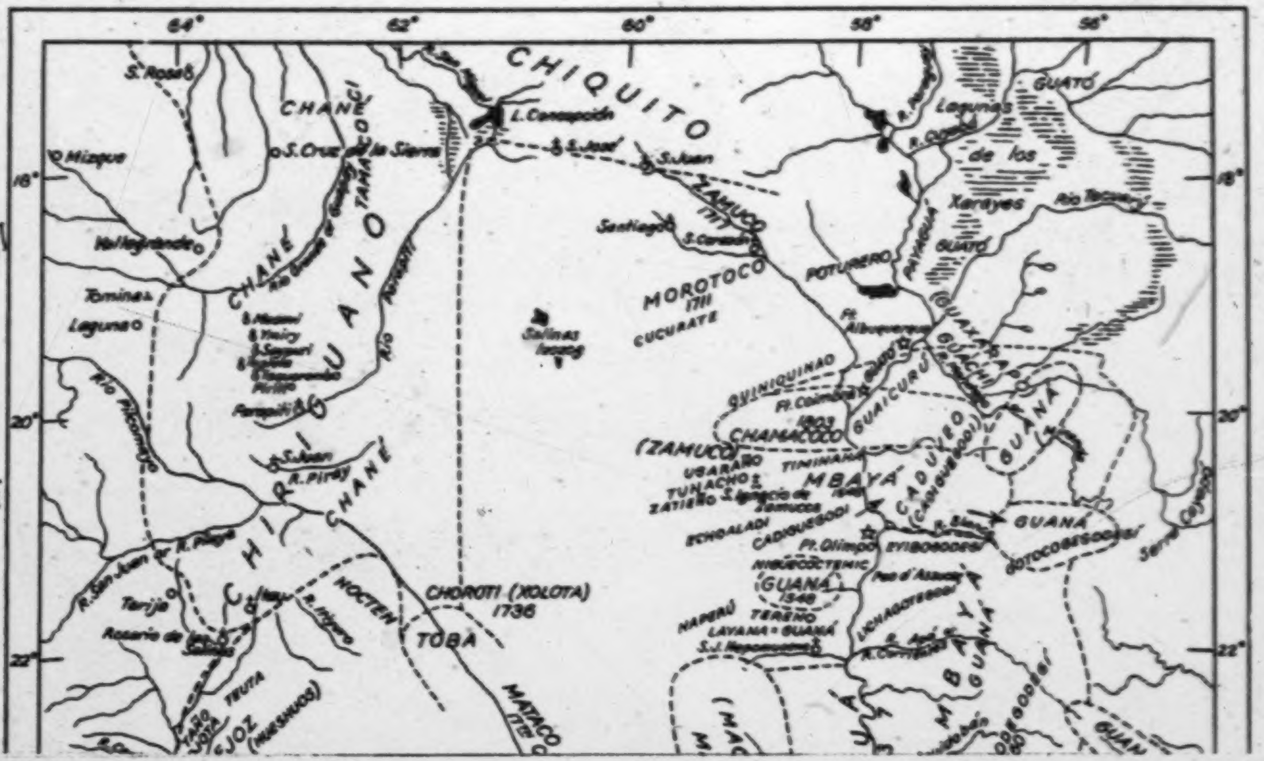

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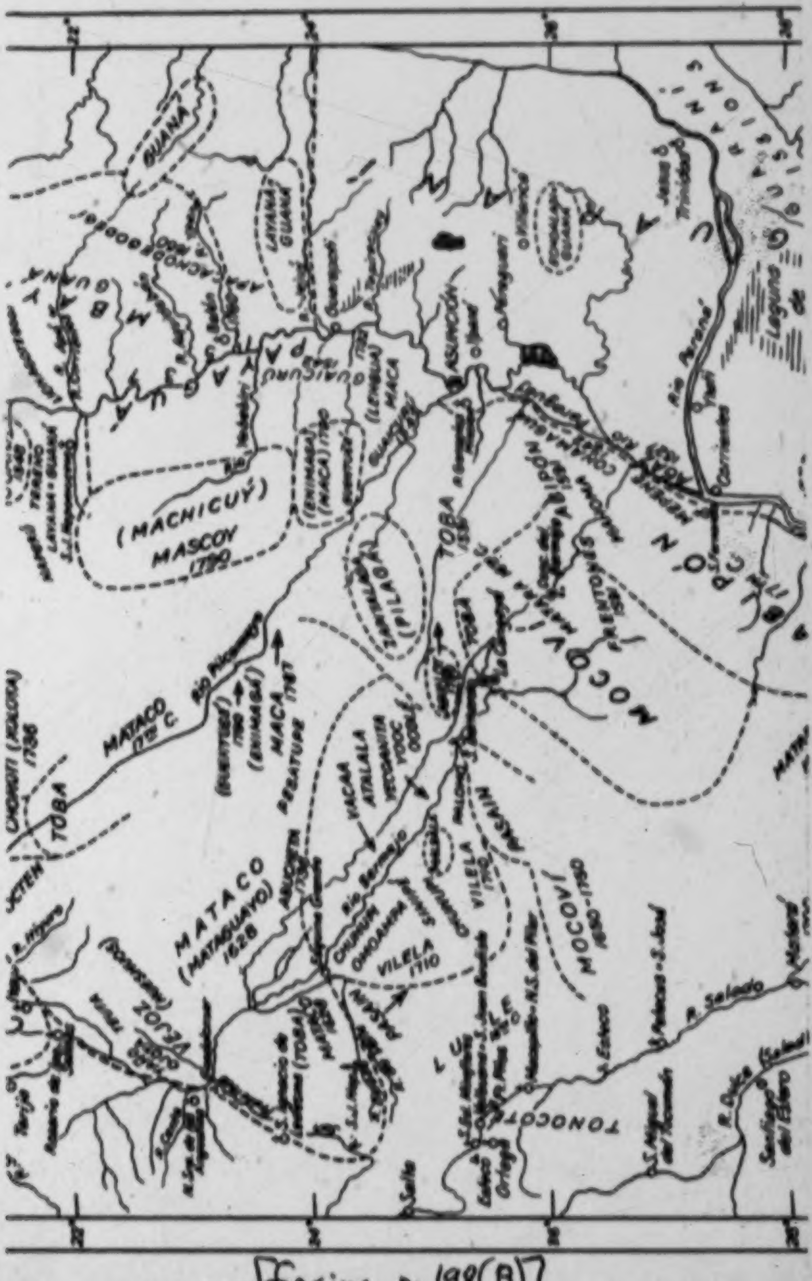

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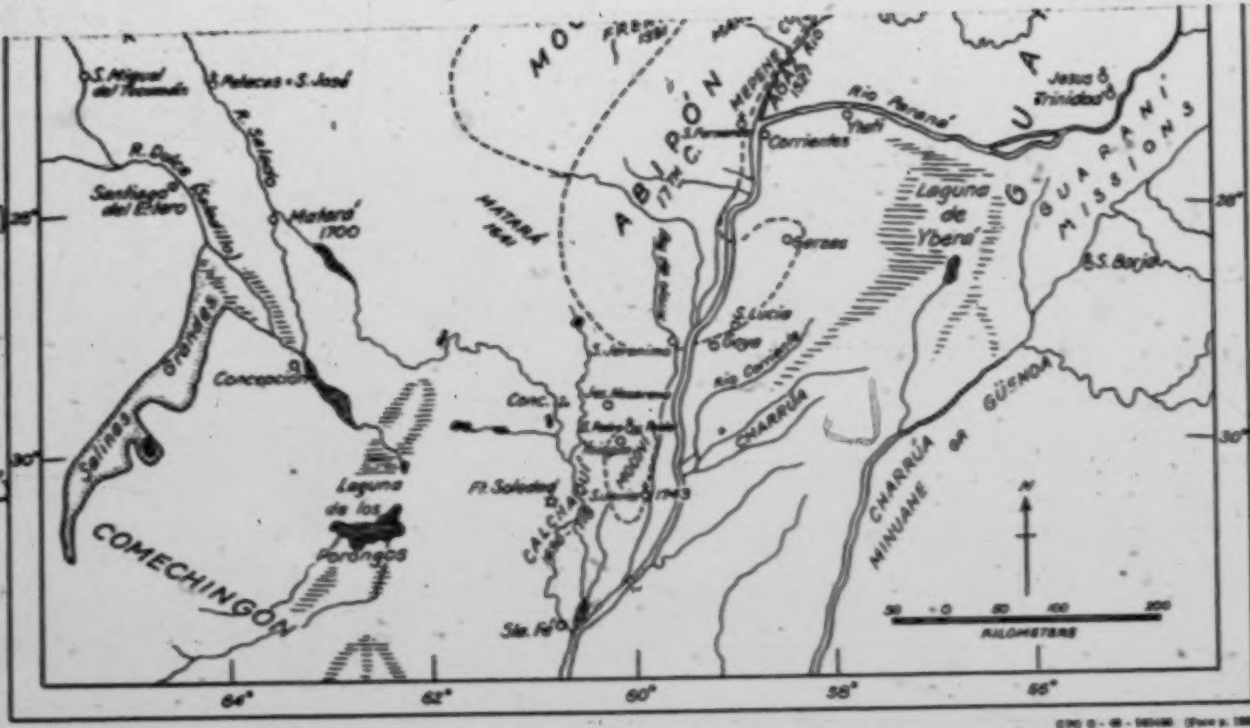

MAP 4.—Tribes of the Gran Chaco: Locations at the first European contact.

living between the Apa and Ypané Rivers, and the other (300 people) near the range of the Nogona and Nebatena hills (lat. 21° S.). A few years later, the two *Caduveo* bands of Fuerte Olimpo, which numbered 300 and 280 respectively, settled near Coimbra in the Matto Grosso.

During the 19th century, the *Caduveo* ranged between the Rio Branco and the Miranda River, but the local ranchers seized part of their territory and made several attempts to exterminate them. At the beginning of the 20th century, the *Caduveo* were granted full possession of an area bounded on the north by the Nabileque River, on the west by the Paraguay River, on the south by the Aquidauana River, and on the east by the Serra Bodoquena and by the Niutaque River, a tributary of the Nabileque River. In 1937 the last *Caduveo*, totaling about 150, were divided among three settlements, the most important of which is Nalique. They are gradually being assimilated into the Brazilian rural population.

In the 18th century, the *Guetiadegodí* (*Guetoadegue*, *Guatiadeo*, *Uatadeo*, *Ouaitiadeho*, *Ua-teo-te-uo*, *Oleo*), or "Bush Dwellers," were the northernmost *Mbayá* subgroup in the Chaco. Their territory was somewhat to the east of the *Chiquito* mission of Sagrado Corazon, on the Mandiy River. They often molested the *Chiquito* converts, who defeated them in 1763 and took a great many prisoners to the missions. In 1766 a *Guetiadegodí* band seceded to form an independent band under their former chief's brother. Aguirre (1911, p. 312) places them in 1793 at lat. 20°30′ S., east of the Paraguay River. They numbered about 500, and were then living on the banks of the Paraguay River, having abandoned their equestrian existence to become boatmen and fishermen. In the middle of the 19th century, their remaining groups had settled as farmers near Albuquerque.

The *Apacachodegodegí* (*Apacachodegue*, *Apacatichudcho*, *Pacajudeus*, *Apacatache-e-teo*) roamed from the Jejuy River to the Apa River, but generally camped either near the Aquidabán-mí River or the Apa River. Until 1760 they frequently returned to their former habitat in the Chaco. These Indians were also called *Mbayá-mirim* (*Small Mbayá*) to distinguish them from the *Mbayá-guazú* (*Large Mbayá*) of the Chaco, and *Belenistas* because the mission of Nuestra Señora de Belen was founded among them. In 1793 they numbered about 600, and consisted of 7 small bands under a supreme chief. Today they have entirely disappeared.

The *Lichagotegodí* (*Ichagoteguo*, *Xaguetéo*, *Chagoteo*), or "People of the Red Earth," were concentrated in the region of the lower Apa River (lat. 22° or 21°30′ S.) somewhat west of the *Apacachodegodegí* and south of the Pão de Assucar. When they were missionized between 1769 and 1774, they numbered about 400.

The *Eyibogodegí* (*Echiguegue*, *Tchiguebo*, *Bájibo*, *Ejueo*, *Buecogé*), or the "Hidden Ones," had one of their main camps near the Rio Branco, northeast of Pão de Assucar. This group, the largest *Mbayá* subtribe, consisted of three bands. In the middle of the 19th century, they were established near Albuquerque.

The *Gotocoguegodegí* (*Guocotegodí*, *Ocoteguegue*, *Cotogudeo*, *Cotogeho*, *Cutugueo*, *Venicguebo*), or "Those of the Arrows Region," were a small group east of the *Eyibogodegí* in the hills at the headwaters of the Rio Branco. In 1798, they totalled about 200.

The *Beutuebo* (between lat. 21° and 20°40′ S.) mentioned by Azara (1809, 2:104) are the same as the *Beuaguichos* of Castelnau (1850–59, 2:479) who had lived near the Paraguayan border and later migrated to Miranda.

Abipón (*Mepene*, *Ecusgina*, *Callagaic*, *Quiabanaití*, *Frentones*).—Azara (1809, 2:164) and Kersten (1905, p. 22) identify the *Mepene* (*Mepenenses*, *Mepeni*, *Mepone*), a tribe of river pirates described by Schmidel (1903, p. 164), with the historical *Abipón*, whose name

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appears in the literature at the beginning of the 17th century. The *Mepene* lived somewhat to the south of the mouth of the Bermejo River in a region which, in the 17th and 18th centuries, was occupied by the *Abipón*. At that time the *Abipón* were not concerned with navigation, and nothing but a vague analogy in their respective names indicates a possible relationship between these two tribes. However, the name of one of the three *Abipón* subgroups, the *Yaaukanigá* (Water People), suggests that they may once have been canoe Indians and therefore identical with the *Mepene*. The *Yaaukanigá* were not originally an *Abipón* subtribe and even spoke a different language. It was only in the 17th century, after they had been defeated by the Spaniards, that the *Yaaukanigá* attached themselves to the *Abipón* and adopted their language.

The name *Callagaic* or *Callagá*, given to the *Abipón* by the *Toba* and *Mocoví*, had no connection with the name *Gulgaissen*, which designated a tribe more to the south.

History of the Abipón.—The original habitat of the *Abipón* was along the northern banks of the lower Bermejo River. Their expansion toward the south began in the 17th century after they had acquired the horse either from Spanish ranchers or from the *Calchaquí*. The *Abipón* first attacked the *Matará*, whom they obliged to migrate from the Bermejo River toward the Province of Santiago del Estero. According to Lozano (1941, p. 97), they helped the *Calchaquí*[4] when the latter, who had been deported or had migrated from the Calchaquí Valley (Salta), arose to regain their liberty. In the beginning of the 18th century, the *Abipón* fought against the same *Calchaquí*, who had settled north of Santa Fé, until the smallpox epidemic of 1718 almost wiped them out. Then the *Abipón*, no longer hampered by their rivals, turned against the Spanish settlements of Santa Fé.

In the first half of the 18th century, the *Abipón*, together with *Mocoví* and *Toba*, ranged over a vast area bounded on the north by the middle and lower course of the Bermejo River, on the east by the Paraná River, on the south by the Spanish settlements of Santa Fé and on the west by those of Córdoba and Santiago del Estero. Here the *Abipón* were continually moving from place to place. Dobrizhoffer (1784, 2:4) writes, "The Abipones imitate skillful chess-players. After committing slaughter in the southern colonies of the Spaniards, they retire far northwards, afflict the city of Asunción with murders and rapine, and then hurry back to the south. If they have committed hostilities against the towns of the Guaranies, or the city of Corrientes, they betake themselves to the west. But if the territories of Santiago or Córdoba have been the objects of their fury, they cunningly conceal themselves in the marshes, islands, and reedy places of the river Paraná." In 1751, a party of *Abipón* entered the city of Santa Fé, killing and looting.

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[4] In 1665 Alonso de Mercado y Villacorta deported the Indians of the Calchaquí Valley to Buenos Aires. Lozano (1941, p. 96) states that these *Calchaquí* were different from those who lived on "encomiendas" in the region of the Bermejo River. According to Del Techo and Lozano, *Calchaquí* had migrated into the Chaco to escape the oppression of the Spaniards. These refugees may have been those who rose against the Spaniards and formed an independent tribe north of Santa Fé about 1640. Two groups of *Calchaquí* near Santa Fé were the *Tocagues* and the *Colastiné*.

175 The first missionaries to visit the *Abipón* were the Jesuit Fathers Juan Fonte and Francisco de Angulo, who in 1591 baptized the children in the bands living
797 near Concepción on the Bermejo River. In 1593 Fathers Alonso de Bárzana and Pedro de Añasco were sent to convert the *Matará* and the *Guaicuruan* tribes of the same region. Their missionary work lasted only 2 years and produced few results. However, Bárzana found time to write a grammar and a vocabulary of the *Abipón* language. In 1641 Fathers Juan Pastor and Gaspar Arqueyra made a brief sojourn amnog the *Abipón* of the Bermejo River.

[648] The example of the *Mocoví* who had accepted Jesuit missionaries facilitated the conclusion of a peace treaty between the Spaniards and some of the *Abipón* bands. In 1748 the Jesuits founded the *Abipón* mission of San Jerónimo, which today is the prosperous city of Reconquista. The mission of Concepción was established in 1749 on the Inespin River and was later transferred to the junction of the Río Dulce with the Río Salado. San Fernando was built in 1750 on the Río Negro at the place of the present city of Resistencia. Timbó, or Rosario, on the Paraguay River (lat. 26°32′ S., long. 58°17′ W.), was inaugurated in 1763.
175 The missionized *Abipón* were constantly harassed by the *Toba* and *Mocoví*.

The history of the *Abipón* after the expulsion of the Jesuits is somewhat con-
648 fused. For many years they waged war against the *Toba* and *Mocoví*, who destroyed the missions of San Fernando and Timbó. In 1770 the *Abipón* of San Jerónimo and some other bands migrated to the eastern side of the Paraná River, at Las Garzas and Goya, to escape the inroads of the *Toba* and *Mocoví*. Some of the *Abipón* who had settled on the left bank of the Paraná River joined bands of marauders who were raiding the farms around Corrientes, Goya, and Vajada. *Abipón* warriors served under the famous leader, Artigas.

Little is known about the fate of the *Abipón* bands who even before the expulsion of the Jesuits had returned to the bush. Some of them tried to settle on their former territory on the Bermejo River, which had been occupied by the *Toba* and *Mocoví*. Rengger (1835, p. 343) speaks of constant skirmishes in which the *Abipón*, *Mocoví*, and *Toba* fought Paraguayan outposts. But, in spite of the continuous warfare along the frontier, the *Abipón* used to visit Asunción to dispose of the cattle stolen in the south. The advance of the military posts in the Chaco during the 19th century restricted their hunting grounds and made life more difficult for them, forcing numerous bands into submission. Many *Abipón* were slaughtered and others were absorbed into the Creole population.
[563] In 1858 there were still some *Abipón* in a reduction called Sauce, between Santa Fé and Córdoba (Lafone-Quevedo, 1896 d, p. 59). It is not altogether impossible that some more or less pureblooded *Abipón* may still be found in the Chaco santafecino.

161 *Population of the Abipón.*—About 1750 the *Abipón* tribe consisted of three large subgroups: The *Nakaigetergehè* (Forest People), the *Riikahè* (People of the Open Country), and the *Yaaukanigá* (Water People). According to Dobrizhoffer (1784, 2:106), the whole tribe numbered about 5,000. The population decreased rapidly after contact with the Spaniards. In 1767 there were 2,000 *Abipón* distributed in the four Jesuit missions.

600 **Mocoví** (*Mocobí*, *Mosobiae*, *Mogosnae*, *Amókebit*, *Frentones*).—The original home of the *Mocoví* was probably the plains between the upper Bermejo River and the Río Salado, near the *Toba*, their close relatives and frequent allies.

In the 17th century they are frequently listed among the "wild Indians" who roamed along the borders of the Province of Tucumán. At the beginning of the